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VERMONT's APPEAL

TO THE

CANDID AND IMPARTIAL WORLD.

CONTAINING,

A FAIR STATING OF THE CLAIMS OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, NEW-HAMPSHIRE, AND NEW-YORK.

THE RIGHT THE STATE OF VERMONT HAS TO INDEPENDENCE.

WITH AN

ADDRESS TO THE HONORABLE AMERICAN CONGRESS, AND THE INHABITANTS OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES.

BY STEPHEN R. BRADLEY, A. M.

The Lord hath called me from the Womb, from the Bowels of my Mother hath he made mention of my Name.
And said unto me, thou art my Servant, O V.....I in whom I will be glorified.
And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own Flesh, and they shall be drunken with their own Blood as with sweet Wine, and all Flesh shall know that I the LORD am thy Saviour and thy Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.

ISAIAH xlix.

HARTFORD:
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1779.

1899

STATE OF VERMONT,

IN COUNCIL,

Arlington, 10*th Dec.* 1779.

THE following Treatiſe, intitled Vermont's Appeal to the Candid and Impartial World, containing, &c. being read and carefully peruſed, is approved of; and Reſolved, that the ſame be publiſhed to the World.

By Order of the Governor and Council,

JOSEPH FAY, Sec'ry.

INTRODUCTION.

THE reader, doubtleſs will wiſh to ſee a fair ſtating of the claims, of *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, *New-Hampſhire*, and *New-York*; before he enters on the important ſubject of the independence of *Vermont*. On the eighth day of October laſt paſt, his Excellency Governor Chittenden, received by expreſs from John Jay Eſq; late Preſident of Congreſs; a copy of an act of Congreſs of the 24th of September laſt; informing, that each of ſaid ſtates, claimed the ſtate of *Vermont* againſt each other, as well as againſt the inhabitants, as appertaining in the whole or in part to them reſpectively; together with a reſolution of Congreſs, to judge and determine the cauſe on the firſt day of February next.--- But as the inhabitants of this ſtate, view themſelves intitled with the reſt of the world, to that liberty which heaven bequeathed to Adam, and equally to all his poſterity: we cannot think it worth our while, to ſhew the abſurdities, and claſhing inconſiſtences, of various grants made by the Britiſh crown, from the time of king *James* the firſt, A. D. 1606, down to the preſent Æra. We do not expect to ſtand upon any derived power from an arbitrary king; we cannot conceive human nature fallen ſo low, as to be dependant on a crowned head

for

for liberty to exiſt; we expect to ſtand juſtified to the world, upon that great principle of reaſon, that we were created with equal priviledges in the ſcale of human beings, among which is that eſſential right of making our own laws, and chuſing our own form of government; and that we, nor our fathers, have never given up that right to any kingdom, colony, province, or ſtate, but retain it now among ourſelves as ſacred as our natural exiſtence.

And here the reader is deſired to obſerve, that the claims are not for property only, but they claim a right to juriſdiction a power of governing us as a people, and pretend to have derived that right from the Britiſh crown: when the crown of *Great-Britain*, never had any right, but the mere conſent of the people, and of courſe that right died when the people aſſumed government.

'Tis very curious to ſee how many ſhapes, *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, *New-Hampſhire*, and *New-York*, are able to make his moſt ſacred Majeſty appear in; he certainly according to the vulgar notion, much exceeds the devil.

While his adjudications were in their favour he had the immutibility of a God, but when againſt them, the deſign of a villain.

The claims of *Maſſachuſetts Bay* and *New Hampſhire*, eſpecially at this period of time are very extraordinary in their nature, and unaccountable upon any other principle, unleſs they think by puting in ſo many frightful claims, they ſcare us to ſurrender to ſome one, rather than run our chance of being devoured by the whole. It is now upwards of forty years, ſince *Maſſachuſetts Bay* and *New-Hampſhire*,

Hampſhire, came to a full ſettlement of boundaries, there had for a long time before, diſputes and controverſies ſubſiſted, between them: And for ſettleing the ſame his Majeſty was pleaſed, by his order in Council, dated the 22d of January 1735, to direct, that Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to mark out the dividing line, between the ſaid provinces, and on the 9th day of February 1736, a commiſſion was accordingly iſſued out; with liberty to either party who ſhould think themſelves aggrieved by the determination of the ſaid Commiſſioners, to appeal therefrom to his Majeſty in Council, which ſaid Commiſſioners did make their report, too tedious to inſert here. The cauſe was appealed to his Majeſty in Council, for a final determination, and the following is an authentic copy of what then paſſed.

" And whereas appeals from the determination " of the ſaid Commiſſioners, have been laid be- " fore his Majeſty by the agents for the reſpec- " tive provinces, of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, and " *New-Hampſhire*, which ſaid appeals have been " heard before the Committee of Council for " hearing appeals from the plantations, who after " having conſidered the whole matter, and heard " all parties concerned therein, did report unto " his Majeſty as their opinion, that the northern " boundary of the ſaid province of the *Maſſachu-* " *ſetts-Bay*, are and be a ſimilar curve line, pur- " ſuing the courſe of *Merrimack* river, at three " miles diſtance on the north ſide thereof, begin- " ning at the atlantic ocean, and ending at a point " due north of a place (in a plan returned by the

" ſaid

" ſaid commiſſioners) called *Pantucket* falls; and a " ſtrait line drawn from thence due weſt croſs the " ſaid river, till it meets with his Majeſty's other " governments; and that the reſt of the commiſ- " ſioners ſaid report, or determination, be affirm- " ed by his Majeſty. Which ſaid report of the " committee of council, his Majeſty hath been " pleaſed with the advice of his privy council to " approve, and to declare, adjudge, and order, " that the northern boundary of the ſaid province " of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, are, and be a ſimilar " curve line, purſuing the courſe of *Merrimack* " river, at three miles diſtance on the north ſide " thereof, beginning at the atlantic, and ending " at a point due north of a place in the plan re- " turned by the ſaid Commiſſioners, called *Pan-* " *tucket* falls, and a ſtrait line, drawn from thence " due weſt croſs the ſaid river, till it meets with " his Majeſty's other governments; and to affirm " the reſt of the Commiſſioners report or deter- " mination. Whereof the governor or comman- " der in chief of his Majeſty's ſaid provinces for " the time being, as alſo his Majeſty's reſpective " councils and aſſemblies thereof, and all others " whom it may concern are to take notice."

THIS boundary line as then eſtabliſhed by his Majeſty in Council, *Maſſachuſetts-Bay* did fully acquieſce in, and hath now for above forty years obſerved it as ſacred, and acted accordingly. We find in the year 1744, *William Shirley*, Eſq; then Governor of the province of *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, complained of *New-Hampſhire*, to the Duke of *New-*

New-Caſtle, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, for neglecting to take poſſeſſion of, and to provide for a fort, called *Fort Dummer*; which had been built by the *Maſſachuſetts* government, about twenty years before, but by the above recited line, fell within the limits of *New-Hampſhire*, in which complaint are theſe words: "Not thinking ourſelves obliged to provide for a fort "which no longer belongs to us."

WHICH complaint, being laid before the king and council on the 6th day of Sept. 1744; his Majeſty was pleaſed to order, that as ſaid fort, was within the province of *New-Hampſhire*, they muſt ſupport and maintain the ſame,; "or His Majeſty "will find himſelf under a neceſſity of reſtoring "that *fort*, with a proper diſtrict contiguous "thereto, to the province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, "who cannot with juſtice be required, to maintain "a *fort* no longer within their boundaries."

THIS *Fort Dummer* was ſeveral miles north of *Maſſachuſetts* line, as then eſtabliſhed, and weſt of *Connecticut* river. All which ſhews that *Maſſachuſetts Bay* ever ſince, conceived that line to be their northern boundary, and fully agreed to it. So late as the 3d of October 1767, the commiſſaries on the part of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, among which was *Thomas Hutchinſon* their great hiſtorian; dont doubt to treat that line as ſacred; they ſay in their propoſals to *New-York*, to eſtabliſh a boundary line between the two governments in the following words, viz.

"THAT a line being extended due north from the "north corner of the colony of *Conecticut*, un-

"til

" til it comes to the diſtance of twelve miles from " *Hudſon's River*, and another line being extended " due weſt, *upon the north boundary of the Maſſachu-* " *ſetts province, according to the ſettlement thereof with* " *New-Hampſhire*, until ſuch line comes to the like " diſtance &c."

WHICH evidently proves, that there was a fair tryal before the king and council, and a boundary line eſtabliſhed between *Maſſachuſetts Bay* and *New-Hampſhire*; which has ever ſince been agreed too, and deemed as ſacred on all ſides above forty years, and is now the fixed line between the *Maſſachuſetts Bay* and *Vermont*. And for *Maſſachuſetts Bay* to claim over that line a part of this ſtate, by virtue of a right derived from the crown of *Great-Britain*, when by that, they are expreſsly bounded to that line; is very ſurpriſing, after their own tacit conſent ſo long. They and all the world muſt acknowledge, that had we not bravely defended our rights againſt the ſtate of *New-York*; but had tamely ſubmited to that government, *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, would not at this time of day have laid in a claim.

WE ſhall trouble the reader no further with the *Maſſachuſetts* claim, being perſuaded he muſt ſee the principle on which it ſtands, and how frivolous it is in itſelf.

THE ſtates of *America*, cannot now judge of the propriety and fitneſs, by which the crown of *Great-Britain* eſtabliſhed the various lines on the continent. This undoubtedly ſhould be obſerved as an invariable rule; that wherever the parties have mutually agreed for a ſucceſſion of years, and acted accordingly

accordingly down to the late revolution, thoſe lines, and adjudications, ought to be held as unalterable and ſacred.

THE claim of *New-Hampſhire*, ſtands on nearly the ſame principles as the former, every unprejudiced mind will acknowledge, that after the beforementioned line was eſtabliſhed, down to the year 1764, *New-Hampſhire* had an excluſive right to all this territory. This appears from the before recited adjudication, and eſpecially in the inſtance of *Fort Dummer*; as well as from the various Commiſſions, ſent the Governors of *New-Hampſhire*, impowering them to ſell and diſpoſe of all this territory; in which period of time the inhabitants of *Vermont*, purchaſed all the territory they are now in actual poſſeſſion of; excepting ſome ſmall remnants; of the Governor of *New-Hampſhire*, and gave a valuable conſideration to the benefit of the crown. After this there ariſing a diſpute reſpecting boundaries; the government of *New-York*, by very unfair means, obtained an adjudication in the following words *to wit*.

" At the court at *St. James's* the 20th day of " July 1764. Preſent,

" The Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.

" Lord Steward.
" Earl of Sandwich.
" Earl of Halifax.
" Earl of Powis.
" Earl of Harcourt.
Earl of Hilborough.
Mr. Vice Chamberlain.
Gilbert Elliot Eſq.
James Oſwald Eſq.

" WHEREAS there was this day read at the board " a report made by the right Honorable the " Lords of the Committee of Council for plantation affairs, dated the 17th of this inſtant, con- " ſidering a repreſentation from the Lords Com- " miſſioners for trade and plantations, relative to " the diſputes that have ſome years ſubſiſted be- " tween the provinces of *New-Hampſhire* and *New-* " *York*, concerning the boundary line between " thoſe provinces: His Majeſty taking the ſame " into conſideration, was pleaſed, with the advice " of his Privy Council, to approve, of what is " therein propoſed and doth accordingly hereby " order and declare, the weſtern banks of the ri- " ver *Connecticut*, from where it enters the province " of the *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, as far north as the for- " ty-fifth degree of northern latitude, to be the " boundary line between the ſaid two provinces of " *New-Hampſhire* and *New-York*. Whereof the " reſpective Governors, and Commanders in Chief, " of his Majeſty's ſaid provinces, of *New-Hamp-* " *ſhire* and *New York*, for the time being, and all o- " thers whom it may concern, are to take notice " of his Majeſty's pleaſure hereby ſignified and " govern themſelves accordingly."

WHICH royal mandate, was moſt fully agreed too by the province of *New-Hampſhire*, and they governed themſelves accordingly, down to the late revolution; and caſt the people of the Grants, now the inhabitants of *Vermont*, out of their government, and refuſed any connection with them, publiſhed a proclamation, ordering the ſaid people to conduct accordingly, which they have done, and by

by their own valour, under God, have maintained their liberties; and now *New Hampshire* in their fit of frenzy, are claiming us back again; like a peevish child, flings away its play-thing, and then roars for it.

The governor of *New-Hampshire* wrote to governor *Tryon*, on the 19th day of October 1771 in these words: "That he had invariably recommended implicit obedience to the laws of *New-York*, and upon all occasions positively disavowed any connection with those people." By the same reason that *New-Hampshire* disavowed any connection with us when in distress, we now positively disavow any connection with that government, and mean to govern ourselves accordingly. We could mention many public acts of their legislature; one so late as the 8th day of January 1772, viz.

"At a Council held at *Portsmouth* by his Excellency's summons on Thursday the 8th day of January, 1772.

PRESENT,

"His Excellency *John Wentworth*, Esq; Governor, and

"Theodore Atkinson,	"Daniel Pierce,
"Daniel Warner	"George Jeffery,
"Peter Levius,	"Daniel Rogers,
"Jonathan Warner,	"Peter Gilman,
"Daniel Rindge,	"Thomas W. Waldron.

"The premises being read, it is considered, that "by his Majesty's order in Council 20th July "1764, the western banks of *Connecticut* river was "then commanded to be the west bounds of this

"pro-

" province, and that this government has been " and is entirely obedient thereto." Which shews that *New Hampshire* did fully agree to, and acquiesce in that royal mandate. We might further observe that the State of *New Hampshire*, by the writings of their supreme legislature, since the revolution, have implicitly acknowledged the State of *Vermont*, * and given encouragement to our agents, sent there from time to time, that we think it very ungenerous for *New-Hampshire* to claim us now, after they have publickly disavowed any connection with us more than fifteen years; and ordered us to govern ourselves accordingly. That we

* The reader will here observe how implicitly they acknowledged Vermont by the following letter, viz.

" Exeter, July 19, 1777.

" SIR,

" I was favoured with yours of the 15th instant yesterday by express, and laid the same before our General Court who are sitting. We had previous thereto determined to send assistance to your State: They have now determined that a quarter part of the militia of twelve regiments shall be immediately drafted, formed into three battalions, under the command of Brigadier General John Stark, and forthwith sent into your State, to oppose the ravages, and coming forward of the enemy; and orders are now issuing and will all go out in a few hours to the several Colonels for that purpose. Dependance is made that they will be supplied with provisions in your State, and I am to desire your Convention will send some proper person or persons to No. 4, by Thursday next, to meet General Stark there, and advise with him relative to the rout and disposition of our troops, and to give him such information as you may then have, relative to the manœvres of the enemy.

In behalf of the Council and Assembly,

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

MESHECH WEARE, President.

Ira Allen, Esq; Secretary of the State of Vermont.

we ſhall forever diſmiſs the claim of *Maſſachuſetts-Bay* and *New-Hampſhire*, after reminding them, that 'tis very ſimilar to the claim the Pretender has to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. And it is more probable he will govern the Britiſh nation, than either of thoſe States will *Vermont*.

We now paſs on to the old diſpute, *New-York* againſt *Vermont*. In the firſt place we abſolutely deny, and we believe the candid world will join with us, that *New-York* ever had the leaſt pretended right to this territory, before the adjudication of the King and Council A. D. 1764; though they pretend the Dutch firſt diſcovered the continent, and took up all the land weſt of *Connecticut* river, to *Delaware* bay. No perſon of ſenſe will ever believe that, for they were ever conſidered by the Engliſh as intruders, and no hiſtorian that ever wrote, has been able to give any charter of the government of *New York*, or bounds to its territory. *

They

* Says Mr. Trumbull an able Hiſtorian, in a treatiſe upon the ancient charters,

But is it not very ſtrange indeed if there ever were any grants made to the Dutch of this country, that they never were obtained, and exhibited in the controverſy between the Dutch and Engliſh, which ſubſiſted for more than twenty years! Equally ſtrange is it alſo, that all the hiſtorians who have written concerning them have given no account of the country which they deſcribed, or of any limits or boundaries whatſoever expreſſed in them. The authorities and vouchers which have been now recited give abundant evidence, that the Dutch claim to New-England, or to any part of North America was without any legal foundation: and that their title to any part of the country, was never, at any period, allowed in England.

The

THEY have likewiſe made much noiſe about a grant to *James Duke* of *York*, afterward King of *England*, but after all they prove too much, for if that proves any thing, it will give them a right to all the lands weſt of *Connecticut* river, which will take a great part of *Connecticut* and *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, and a large tract from the province of *Quebec*. And further it is very evident from what paſſed by the King and Council 1744, that the territory of *Vermont* was then conſidered and adjudged to be within

The court of England ever diſowned it, and treated them as uſurpers. They were not the firſt diſcoverors of the country and therefore could not claim it on that footing. They had no grant of it, ſpecifying any particular boundaries, firſt or laſt, which any hiſtorians have ever been able to certify. A grant for an excluſive trade on Hudſon's river in 1614, and a grant to the Weſt-India company in 1621, without any diſcription of the country granted, without the leaſt mention of boundaries, is all that their ableſt hiſtorians pretend. A grant to the Weſt-India company, obſerve, not to any corporation, or body of men, in New-Netherlands, or in New-England. Nay; this grant was ſo far from warranting the Dutch to ſettle on the lands at New-Netherlands, now New-York, and exerciſe juriſdiction there, diſtinct from the government of England, that even the States General, who, it is pretended, made the grant, diſowned their having ever given orders for any thing of this nature.

FURTHER, it appears that the Engliſh of the united colonies, ever conſidered the right of the Dutch, as confined entirely to the lands which they had purchaſed and ſettled, AND NO MORE. IN a word, governor Hutchinſon has ſaid, on the beſt ground, that the ſuffering the Dutch to extend ſo far as Greenwich, 20 miles eaſt of Hudſons river, was mere favor and indulgence to theſe intruders. The New England patents and the derivative grants, had a weſtern extenſion to the ſouth ſea, included the whole province of New-York, and made an ample conveyance of all that part of it, which had not been ſettled prior to them.

in the province of *New-Hampſhire*, for the adjudication was expreſsly. "That *Fort Dummer* "was within the province of *New-Hampſhire*." And *Fort Dummer* was weſt of *Connecticut* river, and moſt clearly within the territory of *Vermont*, now claimed by *New-York*. Hence we ſay that the territory of *Vermont*, never did belong to the *Dutch*, and was never conſidered as appertaining to *New-York* government before the royal mandate paſſed in 1764; on the other hand they could not claim by any authority but a few miles eaſt of *Hudſon's* river.

And thus ſtood the caſe on the 20th day of July 1764: *New-Hampſhire* relinquiſhed all their claim to this territory, and *New-York* obtained a royal command affixing it to their government, over which before they could not have the leaſt pretended right.

And upon this point turns the whole diſpute, between *New York* and *Vermont*, without going one ſtep back from the year 1764; either that royal mandate, is abſolutely unavoidable in it's nature, and binds all beings within it's limits equal to the moral law. Or if it is voidable undoubtedly *Vermont* is intitled to freedom and independence. For never, no never did a people take more pains to avoid the operation of an oppreſſive act, than the people of *Vermont* have done. Our greateſt enemies cannot ſay we ever aſſociated with the government of *New-York*, or ever admited their juriſdiction further than compelled by force. But on the contrary, we have ever ſince 1764, oppoſed them with all our might and ſtrength even to blood.

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The cauſe muſt then ſtand upon theſe two points, in the view of every unprejudiced mind, firſt had *King George* the III on the 20th of July 1764, any right to grant the fee of the land, now called the ſtate of *Vermont*, to the government of *New-York?* and ſecondly had the King of *Great-Britain*, ever a right by his royal mandate to abridge the *Americans* of that great privilege, of making their own laws, and chuſing their own form of government?

To the firſt we anſwer, that 'twas always a maxim in the Engliſh nation, that "the King is not above law" and that "The law cannot do wrong." Now, as we had before purchaſed this territory, and given a valuable conſideration to the Governor of *New-Hampſhire*, who was authoriſed by the king of *Great-Britain* to ſell it, and acted as an agent under him when he gave grants of this very territory. 'Twas the ſame, and as binding on his Majeſty, in the eye of all law and reaſon, as if the king had ſold it himſelf. If then the king had once ſold this territory, and taken a valuable conſideration, had he any right the ſecond time to convey it away? and if he could the ſecond time, might he not as well twenty or a hundred, and ſo on *ad infinitum?* and conſequently there could be no ſecurity from a king. The voice of reaſon and common ſenſe, tell us, that he could not convey it away but once, and as we had before purchaſed it, 'twas out of the king's power to convey it to *New York*, therefore that royal mandate which *New York* obtained A D. 1764, was null and void in itſelf, as conveying any fee of the land.

To the ſecond queſtion we anſwer as every true American

American whig ought to do, that 'tis not a king, nor any other beings, under God, that have a right to abridge mankind of their natural liberties without their conſent. What right ever had king *George* delegated to him to frame government for us, and to bind us in all caſes whatſoever? None; he had in the nature of things as good a right on the 20th of July 1764, to have ſubjected the Angels of God, to the government of New-York, as he had the people of Vermont. For if he cauld abridge twenty thouſand, he could one hundred thouſand, and equally three millions of their liberties. And if *Vermont* had not a right to reſiſt that act of oppreſſion, *America* has now no right to reſiſt, but ought to ſubmit to all the uſurpations of the Britiſh crown.

So that view that royal command in what light ſoever, as either granting the fee of the land, or the right of juriſdiction; it can be of no validity longer than a *George* ſtands with an iron rod of tyranny to ſupport it; but is now as dead, as all other of his arbitrary acts, committed heretofore in *America*, againſt the peace and dignity of human nature. Will any one pretend to ſay that his royal mandate reſpecting the Quebec bill is now to be obſerved as ſacred? Certainly not. And yet the Quebec bill much exceeds in point of authority. The truth is, thoſe ſovereign acts of oppreſſion and tyranny, went-out, and died, when the king in the declaration of independence, was removed to his Britannic regions of deſpair; and they who now ſeek to revive them; are as great enemies to the civil liberties of mankind as George III.

HENCE then we are imbolden to ſay that *Vermont* muſt live over the claims of all her enemies, *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, and *New-Hampſhire*, by their dereliction, or utter forſaking, have loſt all their pretended right; or in the words of the *Moſaic Law* they have given *Vermont* a bill of divorce, and have ſent her away, and now ſhe may not in any wiſe return to them again.

AND let *New-York*, ground their claim upon what principle they pleaſe, when reduced to a ſcale of reaſon, it muſt like ſelf-righteouſneſs fail, and leave *New-York* without hope.

THUS we have briefly ſtated the controverſy to the world, we now proceed to treat of the independence of *Vermont*.

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VERMONT's APPEAL, &c.

WERE it poſſible for rational men, to entertain ſo mean an idea of the Great Author of our exiſtence, as to believe he intended a part of the human race, ſhould hold an abſolute unbounded power over others, deſtined by his Soveriegn will and pleaſure, to wear out a ſervile life, as vaſſals and tenants, to cruel lords and maſters; in that caſe *Vermont* might demand of *New-York*, and all others who pretend to that power; ſome evidence of their having ſuch a dreadful commiſſion from Heaven; for condemned criminals, are not obliged to ſubmit to the awful ſentance till the executioner has ſhewn his warrant.

But reaſon and common ſenſe, muſt convince all thoſe who reflect upon the ſubject one moment, that all the claims made to this State, are founded on principles of the greateſt injuſtice, cruelty and oppreſſion, ſubverſive of the rights of mankind, tending to deſtroy thoſe great revolution principles upon which the United States are built up, and do in the end point an inſult to the divine author of our exiſtence. They need only a candid ſtating to receive a compleat refutation, for with as great propriety in the fitneſs of things might *Vermont* claim the territory of *New-York*, and demand

mand their right to independence, as *New York*, can *Vermont's*. In which caſe we make bold to ſay, *Vermont* would get no other anſwer, than *Britain* has frequently got from the mouths of cannon in aſking the ſame queſtion. "Yet knowing to what "violent reſentment, and incurable animoſities, "civil diſcords are apt to exaſperate, and inflame "the contending parties; we think ourſelves re- "quired by indiſpenſable obligations to Almighty "God, to our fellow countrymen, and to our- "ſelves, immediately to uſe all the means in our "power" not incompatible with our independence, for ſtoping the effuſion of human blood, and to make known to the impartial world the juſtice of our cauſe.

But before we enter there upon, muſt beg leave to inform the world, of the unfair means that have been uſed to deprive *Vermont* of her unalinable and ineſtimable rights. For the truth of which, we can appeal to many worthy characters, and to the auguſt council of Congreſs, whether *New-York*, has not in the darkeſt hours of the preſent conflict with *Great-Britain*, when our united wiſdom and ſtrength, were requiſit to oppoſe the common enemy; made the greateſt ſtruggles at Congreſs, and even by threats, has attempted to obtain a decree experte; againſt the State of *Vermont* from no other view but becauſe ſhe thought her own political importance in the ſcale of *America* was vaſtly ſuperior to that of *Vermont's*; and that Congreſs would rather cruſh *Vermont* than looſe the friendſhip of *New-York*; when not only *New-York*, but every perſon, that has taken the leaſt pains to inform himſelf, knows

knows that they never had any other right of jurisdiction over the territory of *Vermont*, but what they obtained by their own wicked craft and *British* tyranny; and that the inhabitants of *Vermont* as a people, have never, submitted to the jurisdiction of *New-York*, no not from the very earliest period. For the proof of which we can now appeal, to the marks on the backs, of their then civil Magistrates (if any there be who have not joined the common enemy) who came from time to time, to execute cruel laws, such that the Satarp of an eastern Despot would blush at; made on purpose to ruin the inhabitants of *Vermont*, which will be an eternal disgrace to the records of *New-York* so long as it has a political existence; for particulars of which the reader is refered to *General Allen's* "*brief narrative* "*of the proceedings of the government of New-York.*"

But finding Congress possessed of too much wisdom and integrity to carry their vile purposes into execution, they have left no stone unturned, whereby they might ruin *Vermont*. And to gain their point, to the great detriment of the United States, have imbraced, and nourished in the bowels of this State, sworn enemies to the liberties of *America*, and endeavoured to screen them from contributing their might, toward the salvation of their country in times of the greatest danger; and that too, when called upon by officers under commissions from the *American* Congress; for no other reason, but because those persons were avowed enemies to *Vermont*.

They have secretly confered commissions on the sculking neutrals, who leaving to others the heat

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and burden of the day, have uſed all their diaboli-cal ſchemes, to diſ-hearten and divide the freeborn ſons of *Vermont*.

They have received private perſons, ſtealing away from this ſtate, into their legiſlature, under pretence of their being repreſentatives from certain towns, contrary to the very letter; and ſpirit of their own conſtitution.

In a word, they have tryed all means in their power, to extirpate and diſtroy the State of *Vermont*; altho' we have in all our public writings aſſured *New-York* of our readineſs to ſettle all controverſies; reſpecting lands in diſpute, in ſome equitable way, when the great cauſe of *America* would permit.

And now diffident of our own opinion, we leave the candid world to determine, how far *New-York* might have their own influence in view, by ſtrenuouſly urging, and inſiſting, that Congreſs ſhould determine ſuch an important cauſe, at a period of time, when they think their State from many circumſtances, is become the great key of the continent and to affront them muſt be very detrimental to the confederacy; but let *New-York* remember, that we have a northern as well as they a ſouthern key, and are determined to maintain and ſupport our independence and freedom, or take refuge in that bleſſed State; *where the ſmall and great are, and the ſervant is free from his maſter.*

The independence of *Vermont*, will be argued under the following heads, viz.

I. The right the State of *Vermont* has to independence.

Her

II. Her intereſt and advantage in being independant.

III. The neceſſity ſhe is under of ſupporting her independence.

IIII. The advantage that has and will accrue to the other States of *America* from the independency of *Vermont*.

UNDER the firſt of theſe heads, we can ſupport the right the State of *Vermont* has to independence, upon the ſame ſcale of reaſon, that all kingdoms and States maintain theirs. In a ſtate of nature man knows no ruler, every one (under God) is his own legiſlator, judge, and avenger, and abſolute lord of his property. Had man continued, pure and holy through time, as he came from his Creator at firſt, there would doubtleſs have been no need of government; his wants would naturally have created ſociety, but wickedneſs would never have produced government. Obeying the dictates of a pure conſcience, man would have needed no other law-giver; and *juriſdiction* that neceſſary evil at beſt would never had it's name. But conſcience, nature's great foundation of legiſlation, being corrupted by the introduction of ſin; neceſſity abſolutely required man to be under ſome further regulation, than the mere impulſe of a depraved conſcience; which we find ſoon after the fall, excited the perpetration of moſt horrid crimes in the children of diſobedience; and would fill the world, with the greateſt horror and miſery unleſs reſtrained. From hence government took it's riſe, to prevent and puniſh wickedneſs, or in other words, negatively, to promote the happineſs of ſociety by reſtraining vice.

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FROM whence it moſt evidently follows, that the very end and deſign of government, is ſecurity of life, liberty, and property, to every member of ſociety; and the form that beſt anſwers that end, is of all others the moſt preferable.

THE human race being in the order of creation all equal, that there is neither high or low, rich or poor, bond or free, for they are all one; until that equality be deſtroyed by ſome ſubſequent circumſtance, they are all intitled to equal pivileges of ſociety; and have each one a ſacred indefeſible, right, to chooſe that form of government, that ſhall beſt ſecure, life, liberty, and property.

OR to give a more clear repreſentation of the caſe, let us ſuppoſe a number of perſons to move and ſettle within the polar circle, unconnected with any other part of the world. At their firſt arrival, they would form into ſociety; and while each one remained ſtrictly honeſt, and juſt; they would need no further regulations; their views would be the reciprocal good of each other. But ſo ſoon as vice, that peſt of ſociety, began to creep in among them, they would then find the neceſſity, of eſtabliſhing ſome form of government, to make each other honeſt: In framing of which, every perſon ought to have an equal ſhare, in the legiſlative, judicial, and vindictive powers; and would have an indiſputable right, to adopt ſuch a mode of government, as to them ſhould ſeem beſt, and ought to enjoy the benefits thereof, unmoleſted, equal with any other kingdom, or State under Heaven; and for any foreign power, to exerciſe juriſdiction, and enforce laws upon that people; would be the eſſence of tyranny.

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We'll ſuppoſe ſtill further, that as ſoon as our new emigrants, are formed into a ſtate of ſociety, before they have eſtabliſhed any form of government, an eaſtern monarch, ſhould paſs that way with a large hoſt of the dogs of war and ſons of tyranny the diſgrace of human nature, and diſcover this little honeſt feeble band, whereupon he ſhould make a formal declaration "that he had full power "and authority, to make laws and ſtatutes, of ſuf-"ficient validity, to bind this ſociety in all caſes "whatſoever." And ſhould order and decree that theſe new ſettlers in the wilderneſs, ſhould be abridged of all their natural rights, and be bound to *New-York*, and ſubjected to the laws, ordinances and juriſdiction of the ſame, upon pain of having his dogs of war let looſe to deſtroy them. And notwithſtanding frequent petitions, remonſtrances, and aſſerting their juſt rights, were nevertheleſs compelled to remain in this condition, for ten long years; at which period of time, they arrive to that degree of ſtrength, with the aſſiſtance of ſome honeſt neighbours, that they riſe and cut in too that power, *which was of ſufficient validity, to bind them in all caſes whatſoever*, and thereby get looſe from the cords of bondage. We aſk in the name of reaſon; whether the world ought to aſſiſt in ſplicing that power, to bind them again to *New York*; or whether they ought not in equity, and the eternal rules of right, immediately to be put in full poſſeſſion of that ineſtimable privilege, which they have ſo long been unjuſtly deprived of, *that of making their own laws, and chooſing their own form of government.*

SIMILAR is the State of *Vermont*; whoſe inhabitants, at the expence of their fortunes, and hazard of their lives, without the leaſt charge to any Colony, Province, or State, from which they removed, by hard labour and an unconquerable ſpirit, they have procured ſettlements, in the wilderneſs of *Vermont*; have faced death and danger; undergone unſpeakable hardſhips, in perils by ſavages, in perils by wild beaſts of prey, in cold, in nakedneſs, in hunger, and in want. But above all have they ſuffered, from the cruelty of *Great-Britain* and her emiſſaries. Nevertheleſs, from the firſt day of their entering into ſaid wilderneſs, they never adopted, or chooſe any kind of government, any further than compelled by the murdering ſword, nor did they ever form into a State of ſociety, with any other Colony, Province, or State, but kept a well regulated aſſociation among themſelves, for the protection of life, and property, until the 15th of January 1777, when by the united voice of the people, they declared themſelves a free and independant State. For the truth of theſe things we can appeal to many undeniable facts; ſo late as March 1774, previous to the battle of *Lexington*, the judges of *New-York*, were led in fetters of iron, within the gates of their own city, for ſheding innocent blood at *Weſtminſter*, in murderouſly attempting to enforce the laws of that province, upon the people of *Vermont*. And as the territory of *Vermont* did not originally appertain to *New-York*, and ſeeing the inhabitants did never aſſociate with that province; it is manifeſt they have as good a natural right to independence, to make and execute their own laws, as any body of people on this continent. Again

AGAIN, the State of *Vermont* has an undoubted right to independence, from the ſituation and extent of it's territory.

As we have before ſhewn, the government that beſt anſwers the ends of ſociety, is of all others the moſt preferable, being inſtituted to promote happineſs, and not increaſe miſery: Now whenever government fails in anſwering the end of it's inſtitution; or in other words creates more evils than it prevents, it becomes a burden, and ought in the courſe of things to be diſmiſſed; hence it is, that when the reaſon of parental government ceaſes, the government of courſe ceaſes. And by the ſame reaſon that the other *American States* have aſſumed government; *Vermont* is of age to act for herſelf. And to ſuppoſe the territory of *Vermont*, which is 160 miles in length, and 60 miles in breadth; with near thirty thouſand ſouls, at this time of day, after 3 years independence, under as good regulation, and code of laws as any State on the continent; ought to be affixed to the government of *New-York*; whoſe morals, manners, and intereſt's are diametrically oppoſite; is as abſurd, as to ſuppoſe the *American States*, ought to be reaffixed to *Great-Britain*. Add further, that if *Vermont* was affixed to the juriſdiction of *New-York*, many individuals muſt travel 400 miles to the ſeat of government; which would render it an intolerable burden, and pervert the very ends for which government was inſtituted.

AGAIN, we might obſerve, that *Great-Britain*, previous to the declaration of independence, had made a diſtinct government of this territory, and had granted a commiſſion accordingly.

But as matters are now ſituate, *Vermont* cannot obtain a copy of thoſe writings.

And that may be one great reaſon why *New-York*, has wearied Congreſs to obtain an immediate deciſive adjudication, before that evidence can poſſibly be obtained, leaſt otherwiſe they ſhould be ſelf condemned upon their own ſtating.

Again, the State of *Vermont* has merited an indiſputable right to independence, in the eſteem of every true whig; by her brave and noble conduct, in the gloomy ſtruggle of *America* with *Great Britain*. Firſt in *America* were the Green Mountain Boys, (to their immortal honor be it written) that commenced an offenſive war againſt Britiſh tyranny. Under every diſadvantage in being a frontier, they nevertheleſs with their lives in their hands, took *Ticonderoga*, and other important garriſons in the north; ſo early that *New-York*, as a government, was conſidered as a dead weight in the continental ſcale. And like men determined to obtain liberty or death, they purſued the war into *Canada*; there they fought, bleed and died, not counting their lives dear, that they might obtain the prize at the race end. Many heroes can *Vermont* boaſt in the territory of *Canada*, who fell fighting in the glorious cauſe of American liberty and freedom. Let the brave immortal *Gates*, and deathleſs *Stark*, tell poſterity, that in the year 1777, aſſiſted by the militia of the State of *Vermont*, they humbled the long boaſted pride of *Great-Britain*, and brought the towering General *Burgoyne*, with his choſen legions, to aſk mercy at their feet. In a word, *Vermont*, by her blood and treaſure,

treaſure, at the point of the ſword, has fairly merited liberty; and by the eternal rule of reaſon, has a right to independence, from every conſideration; ſhe has received it from God, as being created with equal liberties in the ſcale of human beings; from nature in the formation of her territory; and from her own victorious ſtruggles with *Great-Britain*.

II. The intereſt and advantage of the State of *Vermont* in being independant is very certain. This territory has been one continued ſcene of legiſlative confuſion, and contention, ſince the royal mandate paſſed A. D. 1764, till the late revolution, which gave *Vermont* an opportunity to take the ſtaff of government into her own hands. And this contention, being unavoidably founded in the natural oppoſition of intereſts, between the State of *New-York*, and that of *Vermont*; that were they to be under one and the ſame juriſdiction, 'twould render the whole State an eternal theatre of contention, bloodſhed and miſery. That taking every circumſtance into conſideration, the greatneſs and ſituation of its territory; the ſtrength to which it has already ariſen, with the rapid progreſs of its future ſettlement; the difference of the morals, and manners of its inhabitants from thoſe of *New-York*; the claſhing intereſts, together with that bitter jealouſy, not to ſay hatred that would forever exiſt, were they to be affixt to *New-York*, muſt oblige every impartial man to ſay that it would be greatly for the intereſt of *Vermont* to be independent.

III. Vermont is under a neceſſity of ſupporting her independence. Freedom is the gift of the beneficent

beneficent Creator, to all his ſubjects: Slavery only appertains to the devil and his followers. All rational beings have a right to expect, that from their natural parents which God bequeathed to them, and left in truſt to be handed down unimpaired, to the laſt child to be born of the human race.

The State of *Vermont*, we have now clearly ſhewn, has a natural right to independence; honor, juſtice and humanity forbid us tamely to ſurrender that freedom which our innocent poſterity have a right to demand and receive from their anceſtors. Full well may they hereafter riſe up in judgment againſt us, if, like profane *Eaſau*, we mortgage away their birth rights, and leave them at the expence of their lives, to obtain freedom. The righteous blood, already ſpilt in *Weſtminſter* court-houſe, calls louder than thunder for an everlaſting ſeparation from *New-York*.

Further, the State of *Vermont*, is under an abſolute neceſſity of ſupporting her independence, or incurring, as a people, the greateſt guilt in the eye of heaven. They have declared to the world that they are, and of right ought to be, a free independant State; have appointed officers civil and military, who have diſcharged their various betruſtments, puniſhed offenders; ratified and diſſolved the moſt ſolemn contracts in nature, joined man and wife, have in ſome inſtances granted bills of divorce, ſtrictly forbidding the parties ever to cohabit together, have pronounced ſentence of death, when twelve men of the vicinage, under the oath of God have declared life was forfeited by

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the law of the land, and have iſſued a warrant to take away the ſame; that ſhould they now give up independence, and thereby confeſs they had no right to form government; they would acknowledge themſelves guilty, of the crying ſins of murder, adultery, fornication, robbery, &c. and deſerving of that curſe pronounced by God on thoſe who part man and wife.

AGAIN, we are under a neceſſity of ſupporting our independence, ariſing from our plighted faith to individuals. Upon the declaration of independence of the State of *Vermont*, many perſons of fortune, admiring its conſtitution, ſold all that they had in neighbouring ſtates, moved in and purchaſed large intereſts of the government, laid out all their effects, taking the plighted faith of the freemen of the State of *Vermont* for their ſecurity; and now to give up our independence, would be deſtroying all their ſecurity, and reducing them by our perfidy, from a ſtate of affluence, to a wretched condition of beggary and want; that could it be poſſible, every virtuous perſon would ſtigmatize the inhabitants of *Vermont* to the lateſt poſterity.

IIII. WE are now to point out the advantage that has and will accrue to the other States of *America* from the independence of *Vermont*.

OMITTING a few ******, whom *New-York*, by their bribery, and corruption, have prevented from doing much in the common cauſe; we venture to aſſert that no one of the fourteen ſtates now at war with *Great-Britain*, according to their numbers, have done more for the intereſt of the whole, than

Vermont.

Vermont. During the firſt ſtages of the war, not one State, excepting *Connecticut*, (a free government) excelled the Green Mountain Boys for vigor, ſpirit and reſolution. We will appeal to thoſe Generals who have had the northern command, whether by applying to the Governor and Council of *Vermont*, in times of the moſt preſſing danger, they did not receive much ſpeedier, and as effectual help as by applying to *New-York*. That all the world muſt confeſs who have had the leaſt knowledge of the war in the northern diſtrict, that the State of *Vermont*, has been of great advantage to *America*, and much more ſo than if that territory had belonged to any other State.

Again, many advantages muſt hereafter acrue to the other States of *America*, from the independency of *Vermont*; for we cannot expect thoſe States who are ambitiouſly graſping at territories to which they have not the leaſt ſhadow of right, will uſe the wealth ariſing therefrom to any better purpoſe than to oppreſs their leſs wealthy and leſs powerful neighbors. It never will be for the intereſt of the United States, to have ſome great, overgrown, unwieldy States. *New-York* is now large enough; and 'tis very probable that if *New-York* ſhould obtain this territory, and the Green Mountain Boys ſubmit to their ariſtocratical form of government; ſhe would in time, by the ſame ſpirit, over run and ruin many of the United States.

VERMONT's APPEAL

To the General CONGRESS of the *United States*.

CALLED upon as we are to addreſs your honorable board, on matters of the laſt importance to the State of *Vermont*; and probably to the thirteen United States, over which you preſide. We wiſh moſt earneſtly to perform this office, with the utmoſt decency, reverence, and reſpect; truſting, that ſhould neceſſity, which knows no law on ſo uncommon an occaſion, oblige us to deviate from that delicate line of honor obſerved by courts, your candour will impute it to a juſt attention, due to our own preſervation, againſt thoſe artful and deſigning States, who abuſe your confidence and authority, for the purpoſe of effecting our deſtruction; rather than diſreſpect to your auguſt body.

WE glory in being allied to your goverment, in being connected by the ſtrongeſt ties of nature, gratitude, and friendſhip, to thoſe illuſtrious perſonages, who by their valour and wiſdom, have extricated *America* from ruin, and by ſecuring happineſs to others, have erected the moſt noble and durable monuments to their own fame. We ſolemnly aſſure you, that we moſt ardently wiſh a permanent union and confederation, might be eſtabliſhed between this and the United States, upon ſo firm a baſis, as to tranſmit its bleſſings to poſterity uninterupted by any future diſſentions. Under a full expectation, of reaping equal bleſſings at the end of the conflict with Great-Britain; the

inhabitants of this State have ever ſtood forth with their lives, and fortunes, to aſſert and maintain the rights and intereſts of *America*.

But to our unſpeakable grief, we find neighbouring States, uſurping a more tyrannic power, if it were poſſible, than ever Great-Britain graſped after, wallowing in luxury, and wanting provinces to drain of wealth, like the debauched Romans, to defray their extravigances, are uſing the wiſdom of ſerpents, and the intrigue of courtiers, to make the inhabitants of *Vermont*, dupes, and ſlaves, to their unbounded luſt of domination and prey.

And to our great aſtoniſhment, we find ſome ſo baſe, as to be willing their countrymen ſhould be made tributary to ſuch birds of prey; if they might have a ſmall pittance for gathering the tax, even on condition it were demanded at the point of the bayonet.

The petty tyrants of every country, always wiſh to have the people dependant on ſuch a power, for under colour of authority from that power, they can carry on their oppreſſions, vexations, and depredations, and ſin without controul.

That could any thing add to our grief and ſurpriſe; it muſt be to find your act of the 24th of September laſt, containing the following Reſolutions, *viz.*

"Resolved unanimouſly, That it be, and here-
"by is moſt earneſtly recommended, to the States
"of *New-Hampſhire*, *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, and *New-*
"*York*, forthwith to paſs laws, expreſsly authoriſ-
"ing Congreſs, to hear and determine all diffe-
"rences between them, relative to their reſpective

boundaries

" boundaries, in the mode prescribed by the arti-
" cles of confederation; so that Congress may
" proceed therein by the first day of February
" next at furthest.

" And further, That the said States of *New-*
" *Hampshire*, *Massachusetts-Bay*, and *New York*, do
" by express laws for the purpose, refer to the
" decision of Congress, all differences and disputes
" relative to jurisdiction, which they may respect-
" ively have with the district aforesaid; so that
" Congress may proceed thereon, on the said first
" day of February next.

" RESOLVED unanimously, That it be, and
" hereby is recommended to the States of *New-*
" *Hampshire*, *Massachusetts-Bay*, and *New York*, to
" authorise Congress, to proceed to hear and deter-
" mine, all disputes subsisting, between the gran-
" tees of the several States aforesaid, with one a-
" nother, or with either of the said States, res-
" pecting title to lands lying in the said district,
" to be heard and determined by Commissioners
" or Judges to be appointed in the mode prescri-
" bed by the ninth article of the confederation a-
" foresaid,

" And further to provide, that no advantage
" be taken of the non-performance of the condi-
" tion of any of the grants of the said lands; but
" that further reasonable time be allowed for ful-
" filling such condition.

" RESOLVED unanimously, that Congress will
" and hereby do pledge their faith, to carry into
" execution, and support their decisions and de-
" terminations in the premises, in favour of which-

" soever

" ſoever of the parties the ſame may be to the end
" that permanent concord, and harmony may be
" eſtabliſhed between them, and all cauſe of un-
" eaſineſs removed.

" RESOLVED unanimouſly, that Congreſs will
" on the ſaid firſt day of February next, proceed
" without delay, to hear and examine into the diſ-
" putes and differences relative to juriſdiction a-
" foreſaid, between the ſaid three States reſpective-
" ly, or ſuch of them as ſhall paſs the laws before
" mentioned on the one part, and the people of
" the diſtrict aforeſaid, who claim to be a ſeparate
" juriſdiction on the other, and after a full and
" fair hearing, will decide and determine the ſame
" according to equity; and that neither of the
" ſaid States, ſhall vote on any queſtion relative
" to the deciſion thereof; And Congreſs do here-
" by pledge their faith, to execute and ſupport
" their deciſions and determinations in the pre-
" miſes,

" And whereas it is eſſential to the intereſt of
" the whole confederacy, that all inteſtine diſſen-
" tions, be carefully avoided, and domeſtic peace
" and good order maintained.

" RESOLVED unanimouſly, That it is the duty
" of the people of the diſtrict aforeſaid, who deny
" the juriſdiction of all the aforenamed States, to
" abſtain in the mean time, from exerciſing any
" power over any of the inhabitants of the ſaid
" diſtrict, who profeſs themſelves to be citizens of,
" or to owe allegiance to any or either of the ſaid
" States; but that none of the towns, either on the
" eaſt or weſt ſide of *Connecticut* river, be conſi-

" dered

" dered as included within the ſaid diſtrict, but " ſuch as have heretofore actually joined in de- " nying the juriſdiction of either of ſaid States, " and have aſumed a ſeparate juriſdiction which " they call the State of VERMONT.

" And further, That in the opinion of Con- " greſs, the ſaid three States aforenamed, ought " in the mean time to ſuſpend executing their " laws over any of the inhabitants of the ſaid diſ- " trict; except ſuch of them as ſhall profeſs al- " legiance to, and confeſs the juriſdiction of the " ſame reſpectively. And further that Congreſs " will conſider, any violence committed againſt " the tenor, true intent, and meaning of this re- " ſolution, as a breach of the peace of the confe- " deracy, which they are determined to keep " and maintain. And to the end that all ſuch " violences and breaches of the public peace " may be the better avoided in the ſaid diſtrict, " it is hereby recommended to all the inhabitants " thereof, to cultivate harmony and concord a- " mong themſelves, to forbear vexing each other " at law, or otherwiſe, and to give as little oc- " caſion as poſſible to the interpoſition of magiſ- " trates.

" RESOLVED unanimouſly, That in the opini- " on of Congreſs, no unapropriated lands or eſtates, " which are or may be adjudged forfeited or con- " fiſcated lying in the ſaid diſtrict, ought until the " final deciſion of Congreſs in the premiſes to be " granted or ſold.

" Ordered, that copies of the aforegoing reſo- " lution, be ſent by expreſs to the States of *New-*

" *York,*

" *York*, *New-Hampſhire*, and *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, and " to the people of the diſtrict aforeſaid; and that " they be reſpectively deſired to looſe no time in " appointing their agent or agents and otherwiſe " preparing for the hearing aforeſaid.

" The aforeſaid reſolutions being read over " and a queſtion taken to agree to the whole.

" RESOLVED unanimouſly in the affirmative.

" *Extract from the Minutes*,

" CHARLES THOMSON, Sec'ry."

As *Americans*, as freemen, or as men of common ſenſe; we cannot view ourſelves holden, in the ſight of God or man, to ſubmit to the execution of a plan, which we have reaſon to believe, was commenced by neighbouring States without policy; and muſt be proſecuted by means, incompatible, with the fundamental principles of liberty. Which appears, not only big with injuſtice and impiety; but carries immediate ruin to ourſelves and poſterity, as ſoon as they become human beings. We have examined it minutely, we have viewed it in every point of light, in which we were able to place it; and with pain and grief, we ſincerely declare we cannot cloſe with the terms of thoſe reſolutions, for theſe reaſons.

1. Becauſe, all the liberties and privileges of the State of *Vermont*, by ſaid reſolutions, are to be ſuſpended, upon the arbitrament and final determination of Congreſs; when in our opinion, they are things, too ſacred ever to be arbitrated upon: And that we cannot ſtand acquitted to our own conſcience, to the world, or poſterity, to give them up, by reaſon of the adjudication of any man

or

or body of men, but muſt hold ourſelves under the moſt ſacred obligations to poſterity, to defend them at every riſk.

2. Because, the Congreſs of the United States has no right to intermeddle with the internal police, and ſupport of civil government in this State; for us, not for Congreſs, has government been inſtituted here, and we cannot conceive that any other legiſlature, has a right to preſcribe modes to determine our fate, or aboliſh our own internal inſtitutions. We moſt chearfully at the ſame time, will accede to any propoſitions made by Congreſs, for the equitable ſettlement of all diſputes relative to property, when admitted to union with the other States.

3. Because, we conceive this State to exiſt independant of any of the thirteen United States, and not accountable to them, or their repreſentatives, for liberty, the gift of the beneficent Creator; having exiſted as an intire corporation, or body politic, before the union or confederation of the other States. The firſt aſſociation, and oldeſt body politic on the continent, upon the late revolution eſtabliſhment; and therefore cannot belong to the confederacy.

4. Because, the State of *Vermont* is not repreſented in Congreſs, we cannot ſubmit to reſolutions paſſed without our conſent, or even knowledge, which put every thing near and dear at ſtake. We eſteem it an eſſential unalterable principle of liberty, the ſource and ſecurity of all conſtitutional rights, that no ſtate or people can be bound by the acts of any legiſlature without being repreſented.

ſented. "It is with the deepeſt concern, that we "have ſeen the ſacred ſecurity of repreſentation "that great bulwark of liberty, ſilently paſſed "over," and acts, rendering the liberty, and lives of the inhabitants of *Vermont* precarious, paſſed unanimouſly. We have carefully weighed the matter, and can ſee no material difference, in being dragged to *Philadelphia* or *Great-Britain*; and there, untried and unheard, obliged to deliver ourſelves up as victims to court pleaſure. Let the prejudiced amuſe the world, and confound the ignorant with their jargon; freedom and dependence on a power, over which we have no influence nor controul, is ſlavery, or we are yet ignorant of the word.

5. BECAUSE, there appears a manifeſt inequality, not to ſay predetermination by ſaid reſolutions in that Congreſs ſhould requeſt of their own conſtituents, power to judge and determine in the cauſe, and never aſk the conſent of thouſands whoſe all are at ſtake, which evidently purports one of theſe two things; either that the reſt of the world, are not intitled to equal privileges with their conſtituents, and that Congreſs have a right *to make laws to bind them in all caſes whatſoever*, without their conſent or even knowledge: Or, that Congreſs already have pre-determined us to belong to the thirteen United States, and of courſe have a deligated right to judge in the cauſe; either of which, as freemen, it is our indiſpenſible duty by all lawful means to oppoſe.

6. BECAUSE, ſaid reſolutions, are either inconſiſtent in themſelves, or incompatible with the liberties

berties of free States; in that Congreſs implicitly acknowledge, that as Congreſs, they have no right to take up the matter by requeſting of *New-Hampſhire*, *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, and *New-York* ſpecial laws to authorize them to judge in the cauſe; and then go on to pledge the faith of Congreſs, to execute and ſupport their deciſions, and determinations, in the premiſes, if only one State, *to wit*, *New-York* ſhould paſs the law, which amounts to this; that *New-York* can give Congreſs power to pledge the faith of the United States; and even of thoſe States who refuſe to ſubmit the cauſe to Congreſs.

THESE are our ſentiments upon this important ſubject, and leaſt they ſhould be miſconſtrued, or miſunderſtood, we again declare to you, ſirs, and to the world, that we are not contending for lucre or filthy gain, we are willing to agree with any equitable propoſals, made for the ſettlement of all differences relative to the fee of lands in diſpute; and are not anxious of being judges in our own cauſe. We further moſt ſolemnly aſſure you, that we are, and ever have been willing, to bear our proportion of the burden, and expenſe of the preſent war with *Great-Britain*, from it's firſt commencement; when ever admitted to union with the other States: Eſteeming it juſt, that thoſe who equally participate of the bleſſing of liberty, ſhould bare equally the burdens of the war in obtaining it. At the ſame time, we cannot be ſo loſt to all ſenſe, and honor, or do that violence to our feelings, as freemen, and as *Americans*, that after four years war with *Great-Britain*, in which we have expended ſo much blood and treaſure, we ſhould

now give up, every thing worth fighting for, *the right of making our own laws and choosing our own form of government*, to the arbitrament, and determination of any man or body of men under heaven.

" Who noble ends, by noble means obtains;
" Or failing smiles, in excile, or in chains.
" *That man is great indeed.*"

POPE.

VERMONT's APPEAL

To the Inhabitants of the UNITED STATES of *AMERICA.*

COUNTRYMEN, FELLOW CITIZENS, & BRETHREN.

UNDER the ſtrongeſt ties of friendſhip, as men who have equally ſuffered together, from the iron rod of tyranny, in the late cruel meaſures of *Great-Britain*; and have gone hand in hand, and ſtood by each other, in times when threatened with ruin, tyranny, and death; we beg your moſt ſerious attention by our addreſs to this very important ſubject. And whilſt like the Dove in the fable, you bend the branch, to ſave the poor Bee ſtruggling for life; remember it may be in our power, to ſting the fowler ſo ſeverely, when drawing the net to inſnare the Dove; as may hereafter procure your liberation. We can never believe that the preſent inhabitants of the United States, are ſo loſt to all feelings of humanity, benevolence, and religion, that while they extend their right hands to Heaven, and weary unbounded grace, in praying to be delivered from *Britiſh* tyranny and oppreſſion; they ſhould with their left hands, be forming ſhackles of ſlavery for their *American* brethren. It gives us pain and grief, to mention the intrigues, and artifices, uſed by wicked and deſigning men, to deſtroy the ineſtimable liberties, and priviledges of the State of *Vermont*; and that too by thoſe ungrateful

grateful ones, who have been preſerved from Indian cruelty, by our brave and ſtrenuous exertions during this preſent war.

We need not inform you, that all thoſe deſpotic claims of juriſdiction, over this State, made by any powers of the neighbouring States, originate from the ſame ſeeds of corruption and tyranny, that raiſed the war between *Britain* and *America*, to wit the power of taking from us our property without our conſent; or in other words, to reduce us to a ſtate of abject tenantcy, binding us down as tenants, and then domineering over us as Lords.

We need not warn you of the dangers that threaten you in our deſtruction, thoſe who have once feaſted on the ſpoils of their countrymen, and taſted the ſweet of living upon the labor and ſweat of tenants, like the voracious wolf, will never leave till they have devoured the whole flock of *American* yeomanry. We have ſeen the liberties of *Poland*, and *Sweeden*, ſwept away in the courſe of one year, by treachery and uſurpation; the free towns in *Germany*, like dying ſparks are quenched one after another in the deſtructive greatneſs of their neighbours.

We beg leave to recall your attention, to the preſent moſt critical ſituation of the inhabitants of the State of *Vermont*; many of us were ſoldiers in the provincial army during the laſt war, between *France* and *Great Britain*, and ſuffered inconceivable hardſhips, in ſucceſſive campaigns, in ſtriving to ſupport the honor of the *Britiſh* nation, and to conquer and defend this territory of land from Indians, Canadians, and French, at which time we

we diſcovered the excellency of the country, and determined, if ever circumſtances would permit to ſettle the ſame.

At the cloſe of the war, *Canada* being ceded to the Britiſh crown, and a general peace prevailing in *North-America*, gave us an opportunity to begin ſettlements on the Green Mountains, then a wilderneſs, filled with ſavages, ſcorpions and beaſts of prey; and notwithſtanding all our fatigue in aſſiſting to conquer ſaid territory, that we might not give offence, we applied to the governor of *New-Hampſhire*, at that time an agent or factor, to ſell extra-provincial or crown lands in *America*, for the king of *Great-Britain*; and purchaſed all the territory of *Vermont* at a very high price, excepting a ſmall tract in the northern part of this ſtate, and continued making ſettlements in the wilderneſs, by an invincible fortitude, ſurmounted every obſtacle. In this ſituation, in themidſt of a howling wilderneſs, we had very little to do with any other colony, or province, never ſending abroad to obtain legiſlation, but kept a very good regulation among ourſelves; acknowledging *New-Hampſhire* to be our parent State, becauſe we had purchaſed our land there, and expected to have it warranted and defended by them, but never aſſociated with them as a people in a ſtate of ſociety; for we never had a ſingle voice in their houſe of repreſentatives, and conſequently were not contained within the juriſdiction of their laws. In this ſituation the king of *Great Britain*, ſtarting the idea of raiſing a revenue from the American colonies, and conſidering the *New-England* colonies as

too

too popular to begin with, and entertain any proſpect of ſucceſs, he therefore adds all the territory of land north of *Maſſachuſetts* line, and weſt of *Connecticut* river, (which we had before purchaſed) by an arbitrary command, to the juriſdiction of *New-York*; thinking as part of that province was held by tenure, he could carry on his plans with greater eaſe, by adding greater power to the ſervants of the crown, decreaſing the number of freemen, and conſequently increaſing the number of ſlaves: We think the greateſt reaſon will juſtify this aſſertion, for no ſooner had the governor of *New-York* obtained juriſdiction, but he patented out all the territory we were in poſſeſſion of, to a few of his nobility and lords, who were favorites of adminiſtration, and ordered us to pay the annual rents uſual for ſervile tenants, or quit our poſſeſſions immediately; and that "we ſhould "not tarry to reap the crops then growing." We replied in the moſt humble, but poſitive terms, "That we had purchaſed our lands of the crown "at a dear rate, and had ſuffered infinite hard-"ſhips in gaining ſettlements, and now to give "them up, or acknowledge ourſelves tenants to "any lord was what we would not at the riſk of "our lives." And from thence ſprung the long diſpute; we, on our part, refuſing to ſubmit to their government, and they ſtriving to diſpoſſeſs us of our lands and tenements; in the courſe of which time, we frequently petitioned *New-Hampſhire* moſt earneſtly, that they would take us under their protection, and prevent our being devoured by thoſe who ſought our ruin; and had as often the

misfortune to find them deaf to all our intreaties, and at laſt had the bitter mortification to ſee a proclamation, iſſued by the Governor and Council of *New-Hampſhire*, wherein they relinquiſhed all right to the juriſdiction of ſaid territory; put us out from under their protection, and directed us to govern ourſelves accordingly. We then found ourſelves reduced, to the melancholy neceſſity of quitting all, and from a ſtate of affluence to commence beggars; to ſubmit as ſervile tenants to haughty lords; or as freemen, to face death and danger and ſupport our rights; we determined upon the latter, and chooſe rather to die with honor than live with ſhame. In this condition, detachments of their militia were frequently ſent to diſpoſſeſs us, whom we oppoſed even to blood. It ought to be obſerved, that as ſoon as *New-Hampſhire* refuſed us any relief, and relinquiſhed their claim, we ſent immediately agents after agents to *Great-Britain*, with petitions in their hands, to lay at the foot of the throne, praying for relief, who at firſt were received very cooly, but after the plan of the ſtamp-act failed in *America*, the crown liſtened to our cries, and gave a decree, in part ſuſpending that juriſdictional power in *New-York*, *until his Majeſty's further will and pleaſure ſhould be known*; afterwards we obtained one or two reports of the Board of Trade in our favour, but remained very much in that ſituation, until the eve of the preſent war, when we underſtood that king *George*, to anſwer ſome other tyrannic views, had given Governor *Skeen* a commiſſion to preſide as governor over moſt of this territory, who came

came once to viſit us, but finding the inhabitants no better diſpoſed toward him, than toward *New-York*, ſoon made his exit and left us to govern ourſelves.

"We ſhall decline the ungrateful taſk, of deſcribing the irkſome variety of artifices, the acts of oppreſſion, the fruitleſs terrors, and unavailing ſeverities," that for the courſe of twelve years were dealt out by the legiſlature of *New-York*, in their endeavours to execute their unreaſonable and cruel meaſures. And not to wound humanity, leave untold thoſe black acts of outlawry and death, paſſed againſt Engliſhmen, and freemen, and that too by a legiſlature, wherein they could have no repreſentation, placing them as common marks for the arrow, wherein they not only proffered abſolution to any perſon that ſhould kill them, but even offered rewards, to thoſe who would imbrue their hands in their blood, for no other crime but defending their juſt rights and privileges. Driven as we were by fatal neceſſity, while we remained in that condition, to ſubmit either to ruin, ſlavery and death; or declare ourſelves a free and independant State; we determined upon the latter, being aſſured, that our ſtruggle would be glorious, ſince in death we could obtain that freedom, which in life we were forbid to enjoy.

We have now exiſted as a free independant State almoſt four years, have fought Britains, Canadians, Heſſians, Waldeckers, Dutchmen, Indians, Tories and all, and have waded in blood to maintain and ſupport our independence. We beg leave to appeal to your own memories, with what reſolution

reſolution we have fought by your ſides, and what wounds we have received fighting in the grand *American* cauſe; and let your own recollection, tell what *Vermont* has done and ſuffered in the cauſe of civil liberty, and the rights of mankind, and muſt we now tamely give up all worth fighting for? No, ſirs, while we wear the names of *Americans*, we never will ſurrender thoſe glorious privileges for which ſo many have fought bleed and died; we appeal to your own fealings as men of like ſufferings whether you would ſubmit your freedom and independence, to the arbitrament of any court or referees under heaven? if you would after waſting ſo much blood and treaſure, you are unworthy the name of *Americans*; if you would not, condemn not others in what you allow yourſelves. To you we appeal as the dernier reſort under God; your approbation, or diſapprobation muſt determine the fate of thouſands. It is not the intriguing courtier, the elequent lawyer, or the learned judge that we fear; we tremble leaſt poſterity ſhould read, that the arms of the glorious *Americans*, after working wonders in the cauſe of liberty, were tarniſhed and diſgraced, and vilely uſed as inſtruments to deprive their brethren, of their inеſtimable rights and privileges.

Our enemies gives us approbrious names, they call us inſurgents and rebels, we have ſtated the matter clearly before you in the courſe of this *pamphlet*; you ſee wherein our rebellion conſiſts, and if that can be called rebellion; ſhew us a period in the hiſtory of the preſent war, in which you have not been equally rebellious; we conjure you by that friendſhip which has ſo long

 ſubſiſted

ſubſiſted between us, by the blood and ſufferings we have exhibited in your cauſe, by your own honor, and liberties which are at ſtake; to riſe and cruſh that ſpirit of oppreſſion, now exerciſed in ſeeking our deſtruction, be aſſured that if you ſuffer us tamely to be devoured by thoſe greedy powers who have laid plans for our ruin, that ſpirit will not ſleep long, before you muſt ſare the ſame fate; for we conceive the liberties of the whole, to be abſolutely connected with every part of an empire, founded on the common rights of mankind. We have coveted no man's eſtate, we have at all times been ready to ſubmit all differences relative to the fee of lands in diſpute to impartial judges, and now ſolemnly declare to all the world that we are contending only for liberty the gift of the Creator to all his ſubjects, the right of making our own laws, and chooſing our own form of government, and will God be pleaſed to diſpoſe the hearts of our countrymen to ſave the inhabitants of the State of *Vermont* from tyranny and oppreſſion, to grant them their liberties in peace, and to ſee the things which belong to their political ſalvation, before they are hidden from their eyes.

To the Commonalty of *New-Hampſhire*, *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, and *New-York*.

WE conclude this addreſs to you, in ſhort, to remind you that your liberties are challenged as well as ours; you are now engaged in a bloody war in defence of the ſame; remember, the meaſure you meet out to others, heaven will meaſure back to you again. Can you ſtand before the throne of God and ſeek to be protected and defended in your cauſe, while you are ſtriving to overthrow and deſtroy the liberties of the State of *Vermont*, which ſtands on as large a ſcale of reaſon for independence as any other State on the Continent.

AGAIN we requeſt you ſeriouſly to conſider, whether the object is worth the purſuit before you ruſh head-long like the horſe into the battle. Force is ſeldom imployed with ſucceſs to change the opinions, or convince the minds of freemen. But admiting that you ſhould conquer us and affix us to any of your governments. Will that enrich you? Certainly not: Will it make us better neighbours? it cannot: Will our deſtruction ſecure your liberties? By no means. What then will you obtain finally, for all your trouble and expenſe, not to ſay bloodſhed. Nothing but a conquered depopulated territory, where every ſingle inhabitant, will be ſo imbittered againſt you, that you will be neceſſitated to keep a ſtanding army perpetually, to keep them in ſubjection, and ſupport government. And that very army in time, being accuſtomed to trample upon the liberties of mankind, will, with the aſſiſtance of the diſaffected, like the worm at the root of *Jonah*'s gourd; eat up and devour the whole of your liberties, and thus the righteous Judge of the univerſe will give that people that deprive *Vermont* of her rights, ſlavery to drink for they will be worthy.

THE END.